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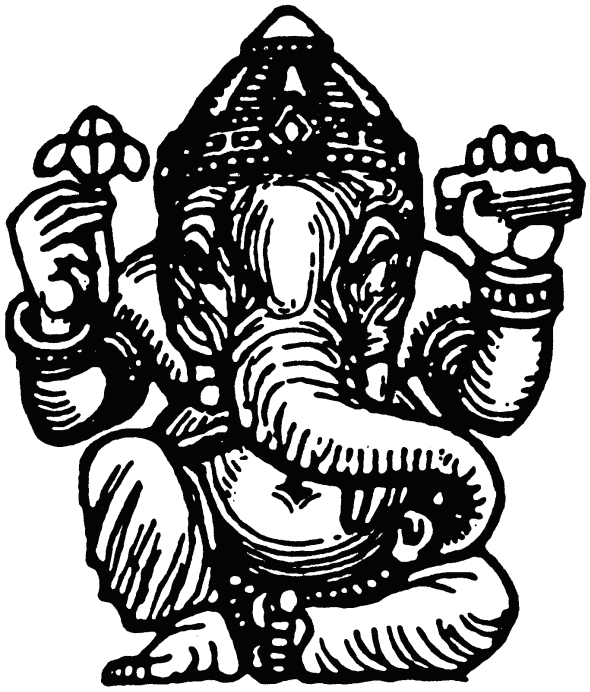

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Michael HAHN

Prakrit Stanzas in an Early Anthology of Sanskrit Verses*

In a paper published in 1993[1] I gave a brief description and summary of the relevant facts concerning a work called *Prajñādaṇḍa* or "Staff of Wisdom" (henceforth PD), attributed to an author (or compiler) Nāgārjuna. For the sake of convenience I would like to repeat what I wrote there[2]:

> The PD is a text which consists of 260 Nīti stanzas. The work too is available only in its Tibetan translation which was prepared at the end of the eighth or beginning of the ninth century AD. The original work was composed in a variety of metres. I was able to trace 165 of its verses in other extant Sanskrit texts. According to the colophon of the Tibetan translation the 260 stanzas form only the second chapter of a bigger work. It is well nigh possible that this statement is true as there is neither an introductory nor a concluding portion. The work would then have consisted of at least three chapters. Judging from its content, style and arrangement it seems to be a fore-runner of later anthologies like the *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* and Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī*. In the case of the PD the authorship of Nāgārjuna the Mādhyamika can be positively excluded. The PD, which is obviously a compilation from anonymous as well as literary works, quotes from the following texts composed by individual authors:
>
> a) Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī* 4.8 = PD 196
> b) Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* 5.10 = PD 116
> c) Bhartṛhari's *Śatakatrayī* 157 = PD 101[3]
> d) Māgha's *Śiśupālavadha* 16.26 = PD 67
> e) Gopadatta's *Matsaranandāvadāna* 60 = PD 103[4]
>
> Since it is very unlikely that the five authors mentioned above quoted from the PD, we can safely assume that the unknown compiler of the PD borrowed from their works. Māgha is

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* I am very much obliged to Dr. Jayandra SONI, Marburg, for correcting the English of this paper.

1. "Notes on Buddhist Sanskrit Literature. Chronology and related topics", *Watanabe Fumimaro hakushi tsuitō ronshū. Genshi bukkyō to daijō bukkyō*, Kyoto 1993, pp. 31-58.

2. *Op. cit.*, pp. 32-33. The following quotation includes the *original* footnotes!

3. See D. D. KOSAMBI's edition, *Śatakatrayādisubhāṣitasaṃgraha: The Epigrams Attributed to Bhartṛhari Including the Three Centuries*. For the first time collected and critically ed. ..., Bombay 1948 (Singhi Jain Series 23). There are more parallels between this work and the *Prajñādaṇḍa*, however none belonging to the first 200 stanzas which Kosambi regards as undoubtedly authentic.

4. Gopadatta's work will be discussed below. The parallel is discussed in the introduction to my book *Der große Legendenkranz (Mahajjātakamālā)*, Wiesbaden 1985 (Asiatische Forschungen 88), pp. 14-15.

generally held to have lived not earlier than the beginning of the seventh century[5]. Therefore the compiler of the PD is later than Nāgārjuna the Mādhyamika by half a millennium and cannot be identified with him. He must have lived in the seventh or eighth century AD. The PD has been edited twice[6] and translated into English twice[7]. My own critical edition and translation of the PD will appear in the series *Indica et Tibetica.*

After the publication of the above-mentioned paper I could identify two more verses of the original *Prajñādaṇḍa.* They are particularly important because they were not composed in Sanskrit but in Prakrit, thus becoming the earliest Prakrit verses to be found in anthologies of Sanskrit gnomic verses.[8]

The first and decisive identification is not the result of systematic search but of sheer coincidence. While reading, for the third time, Hertel's German translation of Hemavijaya's *Kathāratnākara* I came across the following stanza:

> "Wer nicht im Besitz guter Werke ist, der versteht nicht zu genießen, selbst wenn es ihm gelungen ist, Reichtum zu erwerben. Selbst an einem vollen See kann ein durstiger Hund nur mit der Zunge lecken[9]."

This immediately reminded me of PDT[10] 195 which runs as follows: .

| *bsod nams yoṅs su dman pa'i mis* |
| *loṅs spyod thob kyaṅ spyod mi śes* |
| *gaṅs chen mtsho la khyi bźin du* |
| *skom na'aṅ lce yis ldag par byed* |

d lhag CDN, ltag/lhag (?) P

---

5. Cf. S. LIENHARD, *A History of Classical Poetry, Sanskrit - Pali - Prakrit*, Wiesbaden 1984 (A History of Indian Literature. Vol. 3, fasc. 1), pp. 187-8.

6. *She-rab Dong-bu or Prajnya Danda by Lu-trub (Nagarjuna).* Ed. and tr. W[illiam] L[achlan] CAMPBELL, Calcutta 1919, and *Dpal mgon klu sgrub kyis mdzad pa'i chos dbyiṅs bstod pa daṅ śes rab sdoṅ bu bźugs so*, Goṅ gsal par, 1981 (no place), 1, 49 pp. (lithographed). None of these two editions is a critical one.

7. In Campbell's book and in the book *Elegant Sayings. The Staff of Wisdom . . . by Nagarjuna [and] A Precious Treasury of Elegant Sayings . . . by Sakya Pandit.* Dharma Publishing 1977. The second translation (which omits stanzas 52, 61, 90, 125cd, 126, 127 and 222) is basically a polished version of the first translation, with a few improvements and several new mistakes. Both translations abound in gross errors.

8. K. Krishnamoorthy reports that Sāyaṇa's *Subhāṣitasudhānidhi* (ed. by himself, Dharwar 1968) contains Prakrit stanzas, however without specifying them (introduction, p. 16). – Sternbach states that the late (18th century) *Bṛhacchārṅgadharapaddhati* contains 10 stanzas written in Prakrit (*Subhāṣita, Gnomi and Didactic Literature*, Wiesbaden 1974, A History of Indian Literature. IV.1, p. 18).

9. *Kathāratnākara.* Das Märchenmeer. Eine Sammlung indischer Erzählungen von Hemavijaya. Deutsch von Johannes HERTEL. Bd. I. Erste bis vierte Woge. München 1920, p. 14.

10. I use PDT when specifically referring to the Tibetan translation of PD.

A man whose (religious) merit is utterly poor
is not able to enjoy wealth even after having acquired it—
like a dog who even when it is thirsty
licks at a frozen lake [only] with its tongue.

The original text is available in four "recensions" the wording of which varies slightly:

[1] MS BORI No. 776 of 1895-1902, fol. 5a11-12

upabhuṃjiuṃ na yāṇai
riddhiṃ patto pi puṇṇaparihīṇo
bhariaṃmi sare tihiuṃ [!] ⟨ ∪ ⟩
maṃḍalo li(12)*hai jīhāe*

[2] MS BORI No. 1270 of 1884-87, fol. 7a3:

upabhuṃjiuṃ na ā[ṃ]*ṇai*
riddhiṃ patto pi pūṇṇaparihīṇo [sic]
bhariaṃmi sare hiu ⟨ – ∪ ⟩ [!]
maṃḍalo lihai jīhāe[11]

[3] The printed edition of the *Kathāratnākara*[12]:

upabhuṃjiuṃ na āṇei [!] |
ṛddhim [!] *patto pi puṇṇaparihīṇo* ||
bhariaṃmi sare jaleṇa |
maṃḍalo lihai jihāe [!] ||

[4] The version to be found in the anonymous *Subhāsiyagāhāsaṅgaho*[13]:

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11. I am extremely grateful to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, and its curator, Mr. P. D. Navathe, for sending me photostat copies of the two above-mentioned MSS and permitting me to use them for this paper. I am obliged to Dr. Jayandra Soni for his help in ordering and obtaining the copies from India.

12. Ed. Hīrālāl Haṃsarāj, Jamnagar 1911, p. 18. During my visit to Paris in May 1994 I was able to consult the copy of the *Institut de civilisation indienne, Instituts d'Extrême-Orient du Collège de France*, the shelf-mark of which is "JAIN, Tex. VII.9". I am grateful to my colleague Prof. Dr. Nalini Balbir for her assistance in locating this rare edition. According to oral information by Mr. Roland Beer, Berlin, the copy of the work which belongs to the *Staatsbibliothek Berlin* is now kept in a public library in Moscow. It must have been taken away after the end of World War II.

13. Printed in *Jineśvarasūri's Gāhārayaṇakosa*, ed. by Amritlal M. BHOJAK and Nagin J. SHAH, Ahmedabad 1975 (L.D. Series 52), p. 68. According to the introduction (p. 7) the ms. of the *Subhāsiyagāhāsaṅgaho* "seems to have been written in the first half of the 13th Cent. V.S". I am again very much obliged to Nalini Balbir who in a letter dated 20. 12.1994 gave me the valuable hint of this version of the stanza which would otherwise have escaped my attention.

uvabhuñjiuṃ na sakkai
riddhiṃ patto vi punnaparihīṇo |
pauraṃ pi jalaṃ tisio vi
maṇḍalo lihai jīhāe ||

It is not difficult to reconstruct the exact wording which formed the basis of the Tibetan translation and which is therefore the oldest available form of this stanza:

upabhuṃjiuṃ ṇa āṇai
riddhiṃ patto vi puṇṇaparihīṇo |
bhariaṃmi sare tisio vi
maṇḍalo lihai jīhāe ||

āṇai "knows", literally corresponds with Tib. *śes* "knows". This is the correct reading of the slightly distorted forms in [1], [2], and [3]. *sakkai* [4] seems to be an alternative quoted by someone from memory. Note the particular usage of the verb *śak* which is identical with that of the verb *savoir* in French.

The second line is identical in all the four "recensions" leaving aside some peculiarities of spelling. The Tibetan has literal equivalents of all the words occurring in this line, even of the prefix *pari°* (*yoṅs su*).

bhariaṃmi sare "in, at a full lake" has been replaced by *pauraṃ pi jalaṃ* "even a lot of water" in [4]. I suggest the same explanation for this variation as in the case of *sakkai* in line a. The clumsy repetition particularly of *pi/vi* discloses the secondary nature of this variant reading. Here the Tibetan seems to be different: *gaṅs can mtsho la* "at a frozen lake". However, in the light of the extant Prakrit it is quite obvious that *gaṅs can* "frozen, covered" is an alteration which took place only in the course of the transmission of the Tibetan text. First, there are only a few places in India where mentioning a frozen lake would have made sense. Second, the correct and literal translation of *bhariaṃmi sare* into Tibetan would be *gaṅ ba'i mtsho la*. The words *gaṅ* "(to be) full" and *gaṅs* "ice" are pronounced in exactly the same way in Tibetan. While "a frozen" lake is to be met with only rarely in Indian literature it is the most natural thing to be associated with the sounds /khaŋ/ and /tshɔ/ in Tibetan. In other words, **gaṅ ba'i* mtsho la* was bound to become *gaṅs can* (or *chen*) *mtsho la* in Tibet when separated from the place of its origin.

The word *tisio vi* "even when (it is) thirsty" is preserved correctly only in [4]. It is fully confirmed by the Tibetan *skom na'aṅ* "even if thirsty". In [1] and [2] it is corrupted beyond recognition and therefore the editor of [3] replaced it by *jalena*. At first sight the expression seems quite suitable: "even at a lake full of water a dog licks (only) with its tongue". Looking at the stanza more closely, however, we see that the metre is violated twice, because *jalena* [!] produces a *ja-gaṇa* which is proscribed in the

odd feet of an Āryā stanza[14] and a short syllable before *maṃḍalo* is still missing. Hence it is obvious that the editor of [4] simply replaced the corrupt reading of his manuscript(s) by an invention of his own, thereby inadvertently disregarding the laws of metre. Note that the stanza represents the correct structure of the so-called "old Āryā" (*alte Āryā*) where the caesura occurs after the first short syllable of the fourth foot or *gaṇa*.[15]

The obvious question arises whether there exists a Sanskrit version of the stanza which was possibly quoted by the compiler of PD and afterwards translated into Tibetan at the beginning of the 9th century AD. Actually there is one whose opening is exactly the same, apart from the language, of course. However, after the identical beginning the wording changes and the result is the following simple Anuṣṭubh stanza[16]:

upabhoktuṃ na jānāti kadāpi kṛpaṇo janaḥ |
ākaṇṭhajalamagno 'pi kukkuro leḍhi jihvayā ||

b) *śriyaṃ prāpyāpi mānavaḥ* [!] SR, SSB, SRM **d)** *śvā lihaty eva ji°* SR, SSB

"A miser (in spite of his wealth)
does not know how to enjoy life;
a dog, though immersed up to its neck in water,
drinks by licking with its tongue."

Although in SR, SSM and SRM line b) shows additional similarity in the wording the expression *puṇṇaparihīṇo* (*bsod nams yoṅs su dman pa'i mis* in PDT), is entirely missing and moreover line c) is completely different: *ākaṇṭhajalamagno 'pi* vs. *bhariaṃmi sare*

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14. Cf., e.g., the definition given by Ratnākaraśānti in his *Chandoratnākara* (5.3): *viṣameṣu jarahitāś ced dale dale 'ṣṭau gaṇā bhavaty Āryā | paścārdhe kaḥ ṣaṣṭho do 'ṣṭama ubhayatra cāḥ śeṣāḥ ||* "Avoiding *ja-gaṇas* in the odd feet, eight feet in each half form the Āryā; the sixth foot in the second half consists of one mora, the eighth foot in both halves of two morae and the rest of four morae."

15. This law was discovered by Hermann Jacobi and first formulated in his paper "Zur Kenntnis der Âryâ", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 40 (1886), pp. 336-342 = *Kleine Schriften*, hrsg. von B. KÖLVER, Wiesbaden 1970, pp. 198-204): *"Wenn die Cäsur vor den vierten Fusse fehlt, muss dieser ein Amphibrachys oder der gleichwerthige Proceleusmaticus mit Cäsur nach der ersten Silbe sein."* [If there is no caesura after the third foot it has to be an Amphibrachys ∪ — ∪ or the equally suitable Proceleusmaticus ∪ ∪ ∪ ∪ with a caesura after the first syllable.]

16. Text and translation are taken from Ludwik Sternbach's monumental *Mahāsubhāṣitasaṃgraha*, Vol. IV, Hoshiarpur 1980, pp. 1782-3. The primary source of this stanza is Cr 1275 (CPS 374.4), the secondary sources are SR 157.167, SSB 485.171, SRM 1.3.270. Cr refers to Ludwik STERNBACH, *Cāṇakya-Nīti Text-Tradition*, Vols. I-II in five parts, Hoshiarpur 1963-1968; CPS: *Vṛddha-Cāṇakya, Cāṇakya-praṇīta*, [ed. by] Pt. Śrī Rāma Śāstrī, Calcutta 1332 (1925); SR: *Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāram*. Enlarged and re-edited by Nārāyaṇa Rāma Ācārya "Kāvyatīrtha", 8th ed., Bombay 1952; SRM: *Subhāṣitaratnamālā*, [by] K. G. Chiploonkar, 4th ed., Poona 1923 and 1912 [sic STERNBACH]; SSM: *Ślokasaṃgraha* of Maṇirāma Dīkṣita, Ms. BORI 361 of 1884-86 and 527 of 1887-91.

tisio vi. The Anuṣṭubh stanza can therefore not have been the basis of PDT 195. In a similar manner it can be shown that it is not possible to transform the Prakrit stanza into Sanskrit in such a manner that on the one hand the Āryā metre is maintained but on the other hand not a single word is added or omitted. There can be little doubt that the Sanskrit and Prakrit stanzas are closely related —they are in fact nothing but two variations of the same theme—however, PDT 195 presupposes the Prakrit, not the Sanskrit version.

The result of this detailed comparison is that PDT 195 goes back to an Āryā stanza written in Prakrit the exact wording of which can be found in the *Kathāratnākara* which was partly compiled, partly written by the Jaina monk Hemavijaya in 1600 AD[17]. Almost the same stanza can be found in the anonymous *Subhāsiyagāhāsaṅgaho* (13th century V.S. ?). The two variant readings *sakkai* (for *āṇai*) and *pauraṃ pi jalaṃ* (for *bhariaṃmi sare*) exclude the possibility that the *Subhāsiyagāhāsaṅgaho* is the direct or indirect source from which Hemavijaya took the stanza for his *Kathāratnākara* since it is rather unlikely that he changed the wording in such a manner that it exactly corresponds with the Tibetan translation of PD 195. Unless Hemavijaya possessed a copy of the original PD, which by some strange coincidence had survived until 1600 AD (but not later), there has to be another text which contained the text of the stanza without the deviations of the *Subhāsiyagāhāsaṅgaho*. It might be worthwhile to look for such a work among the unpublished collections of gnomic verses written in Prakrit.

It should be emphasized that the ms. used by Hertel for his translation of the *Kathāratnākara* obviously contained the correct reading *tisio vi* which cannot be found in the sources [1], [2], and [3] and which he could not have taken from the then inacessible source [4]. This shows that the quality of his ms. is definitely better than that of the aforementioned sources which adds some weight to Hertel's claim that this ms. is actually the autograph of Hemavijaya himself. The present whereabouts of this unique ms. is not known, however recently an intensive search has been started with the aim of tracing it and eventually making it accessible by way of a facsimile edition or by a new edition of the *Kathāratnākara*.

After the Prakrit origin of PDT 195 had been established beyond doubt I then checked other Prakrit collections of gnomic stanzas, among them the *Vajjālagga* (henceforth VL) attributed to one Jayavallabha by its oldest commentator, Ratna-

17. Cf. HERTEL, *op. cit.*, Vorwort, p. xiv.

deva[18]. The *Vajjālagga* contains another stanza which can also be found in PD, viz. VL 46:

paḍivajjaṃti na suyaṇā
aha paḍivajjaṃti kaha vi dukkhehiṃ |
patthārareha vva samā
maraṇe vi na annahā hoi ||

d) Read *honti/huṃti*? [cf. the following footnote]

"The good (ordinarily) do not undertake to do a thing,
but if somehow they do so,
they, like a line drawn (etched) on a rock,
do not change (i.e. do not resile from their commitment)
even if they have to sacrifice their life
(in carrying out their plighted word)[19]."

PDT 11 runs as follows:

| dam pa mañ po khas 'ches mi byed la
| gal te dka' bas khas ni blaṅs gyur na |
| rdo la ri mo bris pa lta bur ni |
| śi yaṅ gźan du byed par mi 'gyur ro |

The good do not promise (to do) much,
but if somehow ('under difficulties') they did so,
like a line etched on a rock,
they do not change even if they should die (thereby).

This is a precise literal translation of the Prakrit stanza from the *Vajjālagga*, each word having its exact equivalent in Tibetan. Like PATWARDHAN I do not know of any Sanskrit parallel of this stanza, not to speak of one which is as close to it as PDT 11. Hence we have a second instance where the Indian original of PD seems to have incorporated a stanza composed in Prakrit.

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18. *Jayavallabha's Vajjālaggam with The Sanskrit Commentary of Ratnadeva* and Introduction, English Translation, Notes and Glossary by M. V. PATWARDHAN, Ahmedabad 1969 (Prakrit Text Society Series. 14).

19. Patwardhan's translation. More literally the first half of the stanza should be translated as: "The good do not (easily) promise (to do a thing), but if somehow, under great difficulties, they do so, ..." He correctly notes: "*patthārareha vva samā* – This is a clumsy expression used in the sense of *patthārehāi samā* (*prastararekhayā samā*). We should expect *na annahā huṃti* for *na annahā hoi*, the subject being *suyaṇā* (plural). The commentator understands *teṣāṃ pratipattiḥ* (their undertaking) as the subject of *hoi*." (*op. cit.*, p. 422)

From the analysis of Patwardhan and his predecessors we know that the *Vajjālagga* is compiled from older sources and that the date of its compilation lies between 750 and 1337 AD[20]. If it could be proved that PD directly quotes from VL this would confirm the earlier date as the *terminus post quem*. However, it is not yet possible to do this, and the fact that only one stanza of VL could be found in PD seems to speak against this assumption. Nevertheless, we now certainly know that Prakrit stanzas were incorporated in anthologies of Sanskrit gnomic stanzas as early as the second half of the eighth century AD. This knowledge opens up new areas to be investigated in the search for the Indian original of verses contained in PD and other Nītiśāstras in the Tibetan Tanjur[21].

I recently compared another apparently old Nīti text written in Prakrit, the *Chappaṇṇayagāhāo*[22]. There I found two interesting parallels to stanzas in Ravigupta's *Āryākoṣa*. It is not unlikely that, when composing his *Āryākoṣa*, Ravigupta was inspired by the *Chapaṇṇayagāhāo* (or a similar text) with which it shares not only the simplicity and beauty of the language, but also the Āryā metre, which is not typical of the older collections of Nīti verses composed in Sanskrit. These are the two parallels:

A) *suyaṇo sarala-sahāvo*
mailajjaṃto vi dujjaṇa-jaṇeṇa |
chāreṇa dappaṇo vviya
ahiyayaraṃ nimmalo hoi || 81 ||

Even when a good person of straight character
is blackened by evil people
he will become even more immaculate
like a mirror cleansed with an acid fluid.

Stanza 18 of Ravigupta's *Āryākoṣa* which is available only in its Tibetan translation runs as follows:

| *yon tan ldan pa'i grags pa dag* |

20. *Op. cit.*, pp. xv-xxiii.

21. In this connection cf. my paper "Die indischen Nītiśāstras im tibetischen Tanjur", *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Supplement VI. XXII Deutscher Orientalistentag vom 21. bis 25. März 1983. Ausgewählte Vorträge*, hrsg. vom Wolfgang Röllig, Wiesbaden 1985, pp. 227-37.

22. Ed. by A[dinath] N[eminath] UPADHYE in his book *Saptaśatīsāra With Bhāvadīpikā of Vema Bhūpāla along with the Chappaṇṇaya-Gāhāo* (Text and Chāyā), Kolhapur 1970 (Shivaji University Sanskrit & Prakrit Series 3), pp. 49-81. Originally published in *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, XI (1961-1962), pp. 385-402.

| *phyogs bcur grags pa dgra yis 'tshub* |
| *g.ya dań ldan pa'i me loń ni* |
| *gzugs brñan 'byuń la dga' ba med* | 18 |

The fame of the virtuous which fills the compass
is suppressed ('choked') by an enemy.
There is no happiness about a reflection
in a mirror covered with rust[23].

Another very loose parallel to the Prakrit stanza from the *Chappaṇṇayagāhāo* is stanza 7 of Subandhu's *Vāsavadattā*[24] which is also composed in the Āryā metre:

hasta iva bhūtimalino
yathā yathā laṅghayati sujanam |
darpaṇam iva taṃ kurute
tathā tathā nirmalacchāyam ||

"And when with sooty and polluting touch
The man of evil fain would smirch the good,
He doth increase the radiance of the just;
E'en as the ashes in the grinder's hand
Do but enhance the lustrous mirror's sheen"[25].

The second parallel in the *Chappaṇṇayagāhāo* shows greater similarity:

B) *jaha jaha aṇuyattijjai*
taha taha nīyattaṇassa doseṇa |
vaṭṭā-dhūlī va khalo
caḍai sire natthi saṃdeho || 83 ||

To the extent by which the villain is worshipped
to that extent he will, by the fault of his meanness,
climb on one's head like the dust of the road—
there is no doubt about it.

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23. I suspect that the Tibetan text is corrupt here. The last line has a different text in the blockprints of Narthang and Peking: *gzugs brñan 'byuń bar dgra bo med* "there is no enemy in a rusty mirror in which a reflection appears". The original wording might have been closer to the idea expressed in the Prakrit stanza.

24. *Vāsavadattā. A Sanskrit Romance by Subandhu*, tr. with an introd. and notes by Louis H. GRAY, New York 1912; reprinted Delhi, Varanasi, Patna 1962, pp. 46 and 145 respectively.

25. Gray's English rendering, *loc. cit.*

Compare *Āryākoṣa* 82 the Sanskrit original of which is preserved in *Śārṅgadharapaddhati* 351 and in Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī* 414:

labdhocchrāyo nīcaḥ
prathamataraṃ svāminaṃ parābhavati |
bhūmirajo rathyādāv
utthāpakam eva saṃvṛṇute ||

A mean person who has risen into a high position
will at first humiliate his (former) lord.
The dust of the earth, on a road and elsewhere,
[first of all] covers him who raises it.

Stanza 48 of the *Chappaṇṇayagāhāo* represents a very close parallel to a stanza which also occurs, with minor variations, in the *Prajñāśataka* (21) and *Prajñādaṇḍa* (244), both attributed to Nāgārjuna, and in Sa skya Paṇḍita's *Subhāṣitaratnanidhi* (152):

aṇuyattaha bhaṇaha piyaṃ
jaṃ kajjaṃ taṃ suṇeha hiyaeṇa |
mahuraṃ lavai mayūro
savisaṃ ca [!] *bhuyaṃgamaṃ gilai* || 48 ||

Be obedient, speak pleasantly,
listen with your heart to what is to be done;
the peacock's cries are sweet,
but nevertheless it devours the poisonous snake.

Prajñāśataka 21 runs as follows:

| *g.yo can ṅag 'jam smra ba la* |
| *mkhas pas nan tan ma brtags par* |
| *yid brtan bya bar ruṅ ma yin* |
| *rma bya yid 'oṅ sgra sgrog pa* |
| *zas su dug chen za ba bźin* | 21 |

The prudent should not place confidence
in a cunning person who speaks pleasant words
without having thoroughly examined him;
as in the case of the peacock who speaks pleasantly
but has strong poison for its food.

Both PD 244 and SRN 152 transform the five lines of PŚ 21 into four lines without changing the meaning:[26]

| *skye bo ṅan pa sñan smra yaṅ* |
| *'di la yid brtan ruṅ ma yin* |
| *rma bya sgra sñan sgrog na yaṅ* |
| *zas su dug chen za ba yin* | 244 |

Even if a bad person speaks pleasantly
it is not appropriate to confide in him;
even if the peacock cries pleasantly,
it has strong poison for its food.

Sa skya Paṇḍita, too, needs only four lines for his stanza which seems to be a mixture of *Prajñāśataka* 21 and *Prajñādaṇḍa* 244:

| *g.yo can tshul gzob ṅag 'jam pa* |
| *ma brtags bar du yid mi brtan* |
| *rma bya gzugs mdzes sgra sñan yaṅ* |
| *de yi kha zas dug chen yin* | 152 |

Unless he has been examined, do not confide
in a deceitful and cunning person who speaks mildly;
the peacock is beautiful and its voice is pleasant,
but its food is strong poison.

The two parts of the Prakrit stanza are not related to each other as is the case with the parallel quoted above in all its three recensions. I suspect that the Prakrit stanza consists of two different parts. The common topic of stanzas 47 through 50 is "sweetness". In stanza 50 the sweetness of speech is mentioned: *jo guḍa-kayaĕ vāyāĕ jaṃpae* "he who speaks with words as sweet as sugar". This might have caused the compilator of the *Chappaṇṇayagāhāo* to replace the first half of the original of *Prajñāśataka* 21 and *Prajñādaṇḍa* 244 by half a stanza which seemed to be more appropriate to the general context because it contains the exhortation *bhaṇaha piyaṃ* "speak pleasantly". The result, however, is something not very meaningful, contrary to the parallel. Its second half obviously means that peacocks should not be eaten because they eat poisonous snakes which contaminates them and makes dangerous to eat.

26. Cf. *Hundert Strophen von der Lebensklugheit. Nāgārjunas Prajñāśataka tibetisch und deutsch*. Eingel., hrsg. und übers. von Michael Hahn. Bonn 1990 (Indica et Tibetica 18), pp. 80-81.

I would finally like to mention another noteworthy parallel to a stanza of the *Chappaṇṇayagāhāo* in a *nīti*-like verse in Candragomin's *Śiṣyalekha*. This is the Prakrit stanza:

tuṭṭhā hoṃti maṇussā
iṃdamaho āgao tti ramaṇīo |
navi [!] *jāṇaṃti varāyā*
paḍiyā saṃvacchara-salāyā || 19 ||

Human beings are happy
about the arrival of the agreeable festival of Indra.
The poor fellows do not realize
that arrows in the form of years have hit them.

Compare Candragomin's version of this stanza in his *Śiṣyalekha*:

āyāti phullakusumaḥ kusumāgamo 'yam
eṣā śaśāṅkatilakā śarad āgateti |
sarvaḥ prahṛṣyati jano na punar mamaitad
āyuḥ prahīnam iti yāti paraṃ viṣādam || 67 ||

'Here comes spring
with all its flowers in bloom;
autumn has arrived
with the moon as its beauty mark!'
Saying this, everybody rejoices,
but nobody becomes utterly despondent,
reflecting "This life of mine is wearing out.

There is another poetical variation of this idea in Mahendravikramavarman's (or Bodhāyana's) *Bhagavadajjuka*[27]:

abhyāgataḥ kisalayābharaṇo vasantaḥ
prāptā śarat kumudaṣaṇḍavibhūṣaṇeti |
bālo naveṣv ṛtuṣu rajyati nāma loke
yaj jīvitaṃ harati tat kila ramyam asya ||

'Spring, bedecked with tender shoots, has come,

27. Cf. *Bhagavadajjukiyam. A Prahasana of Bodhayana Kavi*. With commentary. Ed. by P. Anujan ACHAN. Jayantamangalam 1925, p. 39. - For a brief discussion on the author of the *Bhagavadajjuka* cf. *Bhagavadajjuka Prahasana. A Philosophical Farce by King Mahendravikramavarma Pallava*. Ed. and tr. by Michael LOCKWOOD, Madras 1978, pp. ix-xx.

Autumn, adorned with masses of lotuses, has arrived'—
With these words fools rejoice
At the arrival of a new season in the world;
For them that is indeed pleasant
Which actually takes away their lives.

It is very likely that the author of the *Bhagavadajjuka* knew Candragomin's stanza. It apparently enjoyed a certain popularity as it can also be found in Jalhaṇa's *Sūktimuktāvalī*, *Vairāgyapaddhati*, No. 52[28].

28. *The Sūktimuktāvalī of Bhagadatta Jalhaṇa*, ed. by Embar KRISHNAMACHARYA, Baroda 1938, (Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. lxxxii), p. 453. There are two variant readings: *bāḍhaṃ* i.o. *sarvaḥ* (however, *bālaḥ* is mentioned in a footnote as the reading of the three mss. *ka*, *kha*, and *ca*) and *mano°* i.o. *paraṃ*. The Tibetan translation confirms *sarvaḥ* (*thams cad*) i.o. *bālaḥ/bāḍhaṃ* and *paraṃ* (*śin tu*) with the Sanskrit ms. of the *Śiṣyalekha*: | *sos ka me tog rgyas pa'i dus 'di 'byuṅ bar 'gyur* | | *zla ba gsal bas mtshon pa'i ston dus 'di 'byuṅ źes* | | *skye bo* ***thams cad*** *dga' 'gyur bdag gi tshe 'di ni* | | *zad par 'gyur źes* ***śin tu*** *mi dgar 'gyur ba med* | 67 |. Note that the *Bhagavadajjuka* has *bālo*. Either this reading was already known at the time of Mahendravikramavarman or its existence in the *Bhagavadajjuka* has influenced Jalhaṇa's wording in his *Sūktimuktāvalī*. The reading *śin tu* (< *paraṃ*) is further confirmed by Vairocanarakṣita's *Śiṣyalekhaṭippaṇa*: | ***śin du*** *ni mchog tu'o* |. *mchog tu* is attested as a translation of *para-*, cf. LOKESH CHANDRA, Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary, Kyoto 1990[3], p. 754a, and as translation of *param* in LOKESH CHANDRA, Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary, Supplementary Volume, New Delhi 1993, p. 626a, where all the examples are taken from the Tibetan translation of Vāgbhaṭa's *Aṣṭāṅgahṛdayasaṃhitā*.

RÉSUMÉ

Le propos de cet article est de montrer qu'au moins deux strophes du *Prajñādaṇḍa* (n° 195 et 11), anthologie du VII^e^-VIII^e^ s. conservée uniquement en tibétain et attribuée à un Nāgārjuna, remontent à des originaux en prakrit. Les formulations prakrites sont connues à travers des citations incluses dans le *Kathāratnākara* de Hemavijaya (composé en 1600), dans le *Subhāsiyagāhāsaṅgaho*, anthologie anonyme (du XII^e^ s.?) ainsi que dans le *Vajjālagga* de Jayavallabha. On a ainsi l'un des premiers cas d'insertion de strophes prakrites dans une anthologie de type *nīti*.

On montre ensuite que quatre autres strophes d'une vieille anthologie prakrite ont de très proches parallèles dans l'*Āryākoṣa* de Ravigupta (18 et 82), dans le *Prajñaśataka* de Nāgārjuna (21) et dans le *Śiṣyalekha* de Candragomin (67). Le *Śiṣyalekha* remonte au V^e^ s.; l'*Āryākoṣa* et le *Prajñāśataka* ne sont pas plus anciens que le VIII^e^ s. Le caractère des parallèles permet de supposer que les quatre strophes ont pu être composées en sanskrit sous l'influence de modèles moyen-indiens. Dans le cas de l'*Āryākoṣa* de Ravigupta, cette influence paraît en outre s'être exercée dans le choix du mètre, car dans l'ancienne littérature de type *nīti* rédigée en sanskrit, le mètre *āryā* est rare. Il faut à l'avenir prêter une attention accrue aux possibles modèles moyen-indiens détectables dans les œuvres de la littérature sanskrite classique.